ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME 7/20/65	DATE RECEIVED 7/12/65

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).	3. IDENTIFICATION NO.
ED001943	N.A.	N.A.

4. AUTHOR(S): Patterson, Barbara

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED: The Price We Pay for Discrimination

6. PUBLICATION TITLE: N.A.

7. EDITOR(S): N.A.

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN: ORG. Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth ST. Street, N. W. CITY, STATE Atlanta, Georgia

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE: Southern Regional Council and Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	June 1964	44

TELE. EXT. INST/LOC CODE

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TYPE OF REPORT
PROPOSAL ☐
IN-PROGRESS ☐
FINAL ☒
FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR: Report

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

police costs	legal costs	resource duplication	tourism
depleted resources	school closings	segregated entertainment	sports
employment opportunities	school boycotts	racial discrimination	
	tuition grants	segregation	

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS) The costs, both in money and human spirit, incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity have been far greater than this area and the Nation are able to afford. The economy of many Southern communities has suffered because of failure to attract industry and investment, loss to the consumer market due to boycotts, police and jail costs, depletion of funds for support of segregationist organizations, and costs of holding separate elections.

Racial discrimination in employment has resulted in perhaps an even greater loss, since the young, educated Negroes leave the South for better job opportunities. Legal costs of the demonstrations against discrimination are also staggering. Many Negroes ask for separate trials when arrested for demonstrations, thereby increasing both cost and time of courtroom procedures. Education in the South has also suffered by an inability to attract faculty, students, and research efforts. University and private officials are hesitant to invest capital in new educational facilities for segregated, racially disturbed communities. The closing and boycotting of integrated schools, the tuition grants to send white students to private schools, and the duplication of educational resources are further costs in education to the South.

Southern segregated communities are paying a high price for racial discrimination when they are denied many cultural, entertainment, and sports activities by organizations who refuse to perform before segregated audiences. Tourism and location of conventions in the South are also declining due to segregated public accommodations.

The high costs on the local, State, and regional levels are also magnified nationally in costs of Federal troops and lost gross national product. An even greater price is paid in the area of foreign relations as the image of American democracy is overshadowed by racial strife.

ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION	20. DIVISION OR DEPT.	21. CONTRACT NO. / PROJECT NO.
	22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT	
	23. DURATION OF PROJECT	U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education

ERIC Form 1

NEGRO INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT: ECONOMIC IMPACT OF SEGREGATION

South. Reg. Coun.

ED001943

THE PRICE WE PAY FOR DISCRIMINATION

In the Economy of Communities

In Employment

In Legal Costs

In Education

In Culture, Entertainment and Sports

In Tourism and Conventions

On a National Scale

In Foreign Relations

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Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

Bennett O. Stalvey

THE PRICE WE PAY

Prepared by
Barbara Patterson and other staff members of the
Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

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The Price We Pay...
Introduction

This publication samples the costs—chiefly money—incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity. Nearly all the documentation has come from the press, largely the southern press. Some other printed sources have been used.

If all expenditures and loss could be added up, the sum would be shocking. The shock is even greater if, in reading each item, one keeps in mind the many and drastic needs in the South for wise use of its public monies and resources to improve society and the lot of its individuals.

Not all of the waste here documented has a price tag. Can the people of Mississippi, for example, afford the cost to the human spirit that comes from being cut off from a culture's highest artistic achievement? Is there enough money in the world to cover the cost to the American nation in international good will lost by unacceptable race relations?

There are probably those who would try to use these figures here to blame not themselves for being so easily parted from their money, but to blame those Americans who, by demanding Constitutional rights for all, have in a sense necessitated the expenditures.

Any such rationale founders on elementary arithmetic: the estimated cost of implementing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for five years—$100 million—would be only .6 per cent of the Gross National Product increase—$17 billion—which could be realized for one year with full and free use ot our human resources. There were southern Congressmen who reported with indignation that the 1963 March on Washington cost the District of Columbia government an estimated $805,000 — $1,022,300. Can this cost be called a responsibility of the marchers? A fair judgment will see it as a cost forced on the national government by reactionary elements of the South and by a dilatory Congress.

And so with the other wastes of money and resources documented here—they come from discrimination, not its victims.

Will southern states, which can least afford it, which so need to develop the potential of their people to the highest degrees of human dignity, continue in the ways documented here to waste the substance of their people?

The Price We Pay...

In the Economy of Communities

In Failure to Attract Industry and Investment

WALL STREET JOURNAL
May 15, 1963

. . . In recent years, its failure to attract any significant amount of new industry and its reliance on the limping steel industry—U. S. Steel Corp.'s Tennessee Coal & Iron division is the area's biggest employer—have combined to slow Birmingham's economy. In 1957, the metropolitan area had its highest employment, 246,000. Today, the total is estimated at 228,000.

Some Birmingham citizens say that in recent years large numbers of their best educated young men and women have been deserting the city to find opportunity elsewhere. It hasn't all been due to the lack of economic opportunity, says one young citizen. "We lost ourselves a generation; they just don't want to put up with all this racial strife."

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
January 30, 1964

Humans, resources, technology, management and education are the five major areas necessary for development if Mississippi is to make economic progress, C. E. Kirk told the noon Lions Club [of Greenville, Miss.] at its weekly meeting Wednesday.

Kirk, who is plant manager for the Ludlow Manufacturing Co., in Indianola, spoke as a guest of the local Lions Club on the subject, "Blueprint for Mississippi's Economic Progress."

Kirk is also a representative for the Mississippi Economic Council and brought along charts and statistics which were gathered largely through the council. . . .

"Where we are losing out," he said, "is in the new, highly skilled industries like the chemicals, electronics and pharmaceutical companies."

"The problem is many of our working age people (20-40) are leaving and those who stay don't have enough education to attract the newer breed of industries into the state," Kirk said.

As a result, Mississippi's per capita income doubled from 1939 to 1945, but it stayed the same in relation to the nation's average.†

SURVEY OF CURRENT BUSINESS
August 1962
U. S. Department of Commerce

[†*Mississippi has the lowest per capita income of all 50 states: $1,229. The national average is $2,263.*]

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
January 27, 1963

. . . A report circulated by S. D. Wolfe, temporary chairman of the Lafayette County Rural Development Committee, says Oxford [Miss.] has lost two new industries because of the crisis.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
April 15, 1963

. . . However while the state's over-all business advance continued, economists in other Southeastern states remained convinced that Mississippi would suffer in later years because of the racial outbreaks.

They cited Little Rock, Ark. as evidence, noting that the industry stopped locating there for two years after the racial troubles in 1957.

A leading economist said he expected the number of new industries in Mississippi "to start declining by the middle of 1963, and to continue shrinking for a long time to come until and unless, the state shows that it is willing to rejoin the Union."

GREENSBORO *DAILY NEWS*
September 6, 1963

Downtown demonstrations last spring by Negroes seeking a change to integrated facilities in restaurants had an adverse effect in attracting new industry, Chamber of Commerce officials told the Greensboro Human Relations Committee yesterday.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

. . . Industrial development people admit that the turmoil is frightening away prospective new industry. Sidney M. Smyer, a prominent real estate man who has been active in business groups talking with Negroes, says: "This situation is going to have definite effects on locating further business here [Birmingham]. People aren't going to come where there is trouble —it's hard enough to get them when you have a favorable climate." W. Cooper Green, executive vice-president of Alabama Power Co., sums it up: "Violence hurts—labor violence, criminal violence, racial violence. You have to live it down."

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 24, 1963

Birmingham (AP)—. . . At a Chamber of Commerce meeting, Chairman Caldwell Marks of an industry-hunting committee disclosed receipt of insulting letters from prospective industries and cancellation of plans for firms to locate here.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
Washington Correspondent
James Free
February 2, 1964

Washington—Gov. George Wallace's war against "the central government" could be far more costly to the people of Alabama if the federal government ever decides to fight back. . . .

Moreover, the Defense Department is now cutting down on the number of military and naval bases and installations over the country. And, when all other considerations are close to even, defense advisers may decide that it would be wise to close an installation in a state that persists in fighting the federal government rather than a similar installation in another state that is more cooperative.

Representative Kenneth Roberts got some figures together recently showing that in the fiscal year that ended last June 30, the Defense Department alone spent in Alabama more than $700 million in payrolls, upkeep, contracts, and the like.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES
(London)
September 23, 1963

. . . The severe economic damage caused by racial unrest has forced the city's business community into action. . . . Birmingham is endowed with a rich supply of raw materials and with ample resources of labor. But the flow of new industries into the area was halted by the onset of racial violence. . . . As one businessman puts it: "We have become the world's headquarters for racial violence, and nothing worse could happen to a city."

NEW YORK TIMES
June 30, 1963

City Council [New York] President Paul R. Screvane proposed yesterday that the city refuse to invest any of its $3,400,000,000 pension funds in the securities of companies practicing racial discrimination. . . .

Because the amount that may be invested in any one corporation's bonds is small, the pension funds own bonds in dozens of different corporations, which are scattered all over the country.

NEW YORK TIMES
December 18, 1963

The United Presbyterian Church urged its agencies yesterday to use their financial influence upon businesses with which they deal to eliminate racial discrimination. . . .

The statement [of the Church] urged the agency boards to "analyze investment opportunities and financial policies that would directly witness to the concern of the United Presbyterian Church for an integrated society."

If church funds are invested in concerns that discriminate, efforts should be made to have those practices changed, the statement suggested.

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH
June 20, 1963

An investigation of the racial policies of corporations, in which the overseas mission board of the United Church of Christ has invested funds was ordered by board directors at a meeting yesterday. . . .

The board has investment holdings of about $18,000,000.

And Then, on the Other Hand . . .

CHATTANOOGA TIMES
September 29, 1963

Huntsville, Ala. (AP)—. . . For Huntsville—and the nation—the space age began with the arrival of about 200 former German missilemen and their families, led by Wernher von Braun. . . .

With their arrival, Huntsville began turning its back on the South of magnolias and old lace.

At the end of World War II, Huntsville was known chiefly as the largest cotton market east of Memphis. It had 3,500 homes and 12 small industries including three big cotton mills.

Two of the cotton mills are now closed and Huntsville today has over 25,000 homes and about 40 industries. The median family income is $6,600—highest in Alabama. . . .

Like most of the businessmen interviewed in Huntsville, Cummings [Milton Cummings, native businessman and president of Brown Engineering Company, Inc.] is irritated over the image of Alabama as an area of

racial strife. It has hurt his effort to recruit scientists and engineers.

"We have found," he said, "a number of engineers who simply don't want to expose their children to this race thing." . . .

Mrs. Patrick W. Richardson . . . mother of two small boys and the wife of one of Huntsville's leading attorneys, says:

"I guess you could say Huntsville was a hungry town. I can remember the Huntsville Times carrying a story on page one in 1938 saying where the breadlines would form for that day—1938 was when the depression was supposed to be over." . . .

"We like Huntsville," she said. "We've always lived here, but we wanted something better. If Huntsville stagnated, we would have stagnated and I guess my husband's law practice would have been a matter of writing two or three wills a week. We wanted something more than that."

The Price We Pay...

In the Consumer Market

NORFOLK *VIRGINIAN-PILOT*
(by the Herald Tribune News Service)
September 26, 1963

. . . William Capitman, president of the Center for Research in Marketing, Inc., at Peekskill, N. Y., said Negro purchasing behavior represents both the greatest danger and the greatest potential in the American marketplace. He said Negroes, with an annual income of $20 billion, have a sales potential as great as the entire population of Canada. . . .

At the moment, Capitman said, 30 to 40 per cent of the Negro population is engaged in unorganized economic boycotts, refusing to buy from producers or sellers considered to be unfriendly to Negroes.

Eighty-nine per cent of 1,164 Negroes interviewed in the third survey told the Negro interviewers they would take part in any boycott called by their leaders. Capitman called this one of the most significant phenomena in marketing history. . . .

In Birmingham . . .

TIME
June 7, 1963

. . . In Birmingham, retailers have averaged a $750,000 weekly loss, some because Negro trade boycotted stores, some because whites did not venture downtown for fear of possible violence.

WASHINGTON *POST*
June 5, 1963

(AP)—Federal Reserve Board figures show that retail sales in Birmingham dropped sharply in May—a time of sit-ins, mass demonstrations and occasional violence in that racially troubled city.

For the week which ended May 25, retail sales were off 11 per cent compared to the corresponding week of 1962. For the preceding three weeks the figures were also minus: 17, 19 and 14 per cent.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

. . . Long-suffering downtown merchants have watched their sales run some 20% under last year's, and lag behind those of most other Southern cities.

"People put off shopping trips," says one store owner. "It goes deeper than just downtown Birmingham. It affects every phase of business, social and civic life in this community."

Adds another merchant: "A solution must be found immediately or Birmingham will be killed as a prosperous city."

WALL STREET JOURNAL
May 16, 1963

. . . A restaurant owner comments: "We're hurt and hurt bad because our business community refused to exercise leadership when it could have saved the situation."

The restaurant owner says his business has fallen 25% since the latest outbreak of racial strife began April 3.

WASHINGTON POST
May 16, 1963

(AP)—. . . An executive of a big department store said . . . "It is difficult to appraise the business conditions. . . . But business is off drastically since last week. We don't know specifically whether to attribute this to the boycotting or to the general atmosphere of the city."

And Elsewhere . . .

THE STATE
(Columbia, S. C.)
July 21, 1963

Charleston—The basic story of this city now isn't on the street where Negroes demonstrate. . . .

It involves the dollars and cents that pump the life blood into the heart of Charleston through its long business artery, King Street.

"Since this started in early June, business along the street is off anywhere from 20 to 50 per cent depending on whom you talk to," one prominent retail merchant confided.

"Some of them are literally worried sick," the *News and Courier* [Charleston newspaper] said at one point in an editorial July 18.

NEW YORK TIMES
March 2, 1964

Canton, Miss.—. . . The Negroes opened a boycott against 19 white merchants last January that now threatens some of them with financial ruin. The objectives are "more courteous treatment" for Negro customers, and . . . pressure by the white merchants on county officials to accept Negro voter applicants.

HOUSTON POST
November 10, 1963

Prairie View—. . . The boycott of the game [Prairie View A & M College versus Bishop College of Dallas] and other homecoming activities had been called by leaders of Students for Equality, Liberty and Freedom in support of their efforts to desegregate nearby Hempstead. . .

A businessman in the community of Prairie View waved his hand in his empty store and said:

"There was no business. You can see the effect this has had on us."

NEW YORK *TIMES*
September 2, 1960

Jacksonville—. . . Newsboys sold only half as many papers as usual in the downtown shopping area. Parking lots, ordinarily overflowing, were checkered with vacancies. Clerks and elevator operators reported that customers who normally crowd the stores in the week before school opens were staying home. . . .

Last night was the first since Saturday to be undisturbed by home-made fire bombs, shootings or beatings. . .

The Governor blamed the people and elected officials of Jacksonville for the breakdown of law and order.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
June 6, 1963

All of Georgia's larger counties showed gains in retail and other taxable sales during the first quarter of 1963 except Dougherty, where racial demonstrations and Negro boycotts have hit the county seat, Albany.

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
July 7, 1963

Jackson, Miss.—. . . To what extent downtown business was hurt by the five weeks of picketing, boycotts and marches and sit-ins has been carefully concealed by spokesmen for Capitol Street, the main business section. . . .

But the chain stores, which were the targets of pickets and sit-ins, one trade association spokesman admitted, found business off as much as 40 to 60 per cent during the peak of the demonstrations.

BALTIMORE *AFRO-AMERICAN*
March 7, 1964

Jackson, Miss.—. . . The two white-owned food markets in colored neighborhoods, which refused to hire colored employees and to cease selling products of companies that also discriminate, have already gone out of business.

And Then, on the Other Hand . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 14, 1963

Baltimore (AP)—An owner of Gwynn Oak Amusement Park—scene of mass racial demonstrations and arrests earlier this summer—has called the park's new policy of racial integration an economic success.

He said the park has more reservations for next season than it had in the late summer of any other year.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
July 15, 1963

Atlanta—. . . Among those restaurants, hotels, theatres and other places of public accommodation in the South that have begun serving or hiring Negroes, only a few report suffering any lasting consequences. A sizable number, in fact, declare that business has been better than ever. . . .

Mr. Henry Rather [Dallas hotel man] says a recent check of the city's 35 largest hostelries failed to turn up a single instance of lost business because of desegregation.

The Price We Pay...

In Police and Jail Costs

This section and a later chapter, Legal Costs, document public outlays which in part result from demonstrations and other actions instigated by Negroes. Often, Negroes are blamed for the waste involved. The true cause is the denial of rights. Any community, any state, which wants to end this waste need only take the necessary steps to provide equal protection and rights for all citizens.

In Mississippi . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 16, 1964

(UPI)—When a few minor hitches are cleared away the Mississippi Legislature will soon adopt a new law empowering the governor to send patrol forces into any community where he deems there is an emergency.

The legislation . . . will cost $4 million the first two years, add 200 men to the patrol force and provide them with a police academy.

In Savannah . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
February 11, 1964

Savannah has been rebuffed in its efforts to collect from the state $18,000 which it spent for quarters and food for state troopers during racial disorders.

In Albany . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
March 3, 1964

Albany—Mayor Jimmy Davis estimated Monday the 2-months stay of a group of pacifists cost Albany taxpayers about $5,000 in jail expenses.

In Memphis . . .

MEMPHIS *COMMERCIAL APPEAL*
September 18, 1963

Protests and demonstrations by Negroes against staggered hours at five Negro schools have cost the Memphis Police Department more than $9,000 in overtime pay since September 4.

In Greensboro . . .

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
May 21, 1963

. . . Clarence Smith, purchasing agent for Guilford County, estimated taxpayers were supporting the jailed Negro demonstrators at a minimum of $1,200 a day "just for food."

In Danville . . .

RICHMOND *NEWS LEADER*
September 9, 1963

Danville (AP)—The cost of policing civil rights demonstrations in this Southside city which has been the scene of sporadic racial unrest since May 31 has been placed at more than $60,000.

Danville Mayor Julian R. Stinson announced over the weekend that overtime pay for policemen and other deputized law enforcement officers in June, July and August came to $48,199.

He said other expenses incurred included approximately $6,515 for such items as night sticks, tear gas, office supplies and court costs.

In Cambridge . . .

BALTIMORE *SUN*
June 24, 1963

Cambridge (AP)—Thirty-seven days of militia law here has cost Maryland at least $176,000. That's only the estimate of keeping National Guard troops billetted here.

The other costs—State Police expenditures and the economic toll to the community—have not been accounted for, and may be unaccountable.

The bill for the first 25 days of militia rule, from June 14 to July 8, was nearly $100,000. According to the comptroller, pay for the Guard totaled $83,199.83, the food bill was about $14,700 and the cost for gasoline was $1,858.89.

Also in Cambridge . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
March 9, 1964

. . . for the subsequent nine months, July 1963 through March 1964

. . . Keeping the Guard in Cambridge for nearly nine months has cost the taxpayers close to $70,000 and hasn't solved anything; it has cut Guard enlistments; it has led to legislators being besieged with complaints about the financial pinch felt by families of Guardsmen who had had to be away from their jobs.

In Williamston, N. C. . . .

GREENBORO *DAILY NEWS*
August 9, 1963

. . . The Martin County Commissioners in a brief meeting approved a bill of $1,095 for extra police protection during July.

Extra law enforcement officers were necessary recently to prevent violence as a result of nightly demonstrations by Negroes.

In Jackson . . .

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
October 31, 1963

He [Mayor Allen Thompson] said the city spent an extra $138,429.75 in overtime and equipment combatting the demonstrations from late May through August.

In Charleston . . .

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
October 17, 1963

Costs of locking up racial demonstrators during July and August jabbed three Charleston County budgets out of kilter, according to a report issued this week by County Manager E. D. Martin.

The Prison Farm Barracks, County Jail and Prison Farm all had to spend more than half of their six-months allotted fund in three months' time because of the demonstrations.

In High Point . . .

GREENSBORO *DAILY NEWS*
August 30, 1963

High Point—. . . City Hall is showing some concern over the mounting costs of Negro demonstrations here.

A $9,000,000 budget, closely trimmed in order to keep the same tax rate of $1.20 per $100 valuation, cannot stand too much additional and unbudgeted expense, it was pointed out by city officials.

Protest activities have cost $7,132.52 in overtime pay for policemen alone. Also to be considered is the wear and tear on the Police Department.

Statewide in North Carolina . . .

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
August 17, 1963

The State Highway Patrol has spent more than 11,000 man-hours dealing with racial demonstrations so far this year. The extra activity has cut sharply into traffic law enforcement.

Figures compiled Friday by patrol headquarters show traffic violations charged during the first six months of 1963 were down 18,558 compared with the same six-months' period last year.

Statewide in Mississippi . . .

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
March 27, 1963

Jackson (UPI)—. . . Public Safety Commissioner T. B. Birdsong told United Press International Tuesday the morale of highway patrolmen, most of whom were on duty at the scene of the riot [at the University of Mississippi], was hurt by the crisis. . . .

He pointed out that the state's highway death toll "rose very sharply" after the September 30 riot which marked the entry of Negro James Meredith to the university.

Since then, there have been 327 traffic deaths in Mississippi, compared to 252 during the same period a year earlier.

And in Birmingham . . . the state paid . . .

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
June 20, 1963

Montgomery—. . . State Budget Officer J. V. Jordan said a tabulation three weeks ago showed that "upwards of $90,000" had been spent up to that time in keeping hundreds of state troopers in Birmingham to keep a watch on racial disorders there.

Jordan said a later tabulation . . . would boost that figure by a substantial amount.

State Conservation Director Claude D. Kelley said it cost his department $25,000 to send about 100 conservation officers, deputized as state troopers, to Birmingham.

ABC officials reported they had been forced to spend an extra $17,350 for sending specially-deputized liquor enforcement agents to Birmingham.

State fiscal officials said the total expense could run well over $200,000.

the city paid . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 22, 1963

. . . The cost of the five weeks of demonstrations was considerable. It is estimated that overtime pay to policemen, repair of damage to police vehicles and the feeding of more than 1,500 prisoners will total about $50,000.

Whatever the cost, most Birmingham citizens hope it is the final payment.

the county paid . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 22, 1963

The county [Jefferson] may have spent as much as $10,000 more.

and the people paid . . .

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 14, 1963

. . . Losses from fires during the weekend rioting were placed at $41,775 by Deputy Fire Marshal William E. Berry. And vandalism will boost the destruction toll much higher.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
May 26, 1963

Governor Wallace is pushing through an emergency appropriation of $250,000 to cover expenses of troopers.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 15, 1963

. . . Governor Wallace called for a doubling of the cost of drivers' licenses in Alabama to finance an Alabama Highway Patrol to cope with racial disturbances.

In Jackson, Mississippi . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
February 27, 1964

Jackson has been steadily strengthening its police force in recent months and has laid in an added supply of gas masks, shotguns and helmets. The city also recently purchased a $15,000 tank-like vehicle designed especially for riot control.

BALTIMORE *AFRO-AMERICAN*
March 7, 1964

. . . Mayor Allen Thompson has asked state lawmakers for $1,000,000 with which to build a compound for "agitators and others who do not go along with the Mississippi way of life."

THE MISSIS'IPPIAN
(University of Mississippi)
April 10, 1964

Jackson—The Mississippi House has unanimously passed two more bills to help local officials deal with racial problems. The bills would allow counties and cities to send prisoners to Parchman [state prison] if their jails become overcrowded. The cities or counties would bear the entire expense and furnish guards. The measures would prevent jail overcrowding resulting from mass arrests of demonstrators.

The Price We Pay...

In Other Resources Depleted

NEW YORK *TIMES*
March 19, 1964

Jackson—. . . Mississippi's Sovereignty Commission has been the clearing house for $260,000 in contributions to a lobby in Washington opposing the civil rights bill.

According to Erle Johnston, director of the commission, that much money has gone through his hands in the last nine months to the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc. . . .

In Washington, meanwhile, John C. Satterfield, secretary of the Coordinating Committee, said the group had spent $200,000 to $250,000 since its incorporation there last July. . . .

Financing was worked out at a meeting here last summer. Allotments were established for the Southern states, and the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission was designated to channel contributions to the Washington office.

The Sovereignty Commission was created by the Legislature in 1956. It was given authority to accept contributions from private or out-of-state sources.

To help prime the pump for the Coordinating Committee in the beginning, the Sovereignty Commission contributed $10,000 from its $250,000 biennial state appropriation.

It also agreed to pay the bill for the services of Mr. Satterfield as the committee's legal adviser. . . . He charges $25 an hour, up to $2,000 a month.

MIAMI *HERALD*
January 29, 1964

Washington—. . . According to figures filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives the commission [Mississippi Sovereignty Commission] gave Synon's committee [John J. Synon, director of the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, salaried at $519.23 a week] $20,000 in the quarter-year ending September 30, 1963 and $100,000 in the quarter ending December 31.

ST. PETERSBURG *TIMES*
Editorial, February 8, 1964

. . . Most of Mississippi's financial support for the anti-civil rights group . . . has been from "private contributions" to the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission. . . . This is what the director of the commission says. But even he admits that $20,000 of the state's grant to the Washington lobby was drawn from tax funds.

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
February 9, 1964

Jackson—. . . While the State Sovereignty Commission has invested only $20,000 so far in CCFAF [Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms] it has sunk over $160,000 of state funds since June 1960 in the White Citizens Council's television and radio series.

Oddly, the Citizens Council does not submit any statement or invoice as a matter of record in order to receive its $2,000 payment from the state.

The state auditor's office said last week that all other invoices made by the state must have a statement showing what was received in return.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
April 3, 1964

(AP)—The Mississippi Senate gave unanimous passage Thursday to a bill appropriating $50,000 to finance further efforts to defeat the Civil Rights Bill pending before Congress.

The measure . . . was in the form of a deficit appropriation to the State Sovereignty Commission. . . .

Committee sources said the money was earmarked for the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms in Washington.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 3, 1964

A drive to enlist the support of various Alabama organizations in fighting the civil rights bill now pending in the Senate was launched here Monday by the State Sovereignty Commission.

Howell [Eli Howell, executive director of the Commission] said the nationwide campaign would be directed by the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms. . . . The Sovereignty Commission had earlier appropriated $10,000 to this group.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
April 23, 1964

The State [Alabama] Sovereignty Commission has issued a $15,000 check to the Coordinating Committee for Freedom Fund.

WASHINGTON *POST*
April 19, 1964

. . . Official state commissions in Florida and Alabama also have contributed a total of $13,000 to the CCFAF [Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms]. The Plaquemines Parish (La.) Council, headed by political boss Leander Perez, who built a stockade in the swamps for arrested racial demonstrators, has appropriated $5,000 in taxpayers' money to the CCFAF.

ST. PETERSBURG *TIMES*
April 2, 1964

Tallahassee—. . . Prentice [George Prentice, executive director of the Florida Commission on Constitutional Government] could be in Lincoln, Neb., headquarters for a new national ultra-conservative organization of

which he was recently made executive director. He flew to Nebraska to take the job with the private organization using Florida state funds. Taxi, hotel and food expenses were also paid for with Florida state funds.

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
Editorial, February 8, 1964

. . . The sense of impatience that other states must feel for states such as Mississippi, which is, at once, the most abjectly mendicant of all the 50 states and the most aggressively unyielding in its segregationist sentiments.

. . .

Why—it could be asked—should other states help pay [via federal tax dollars] for services that Mississippi says it is unable to afford on its own when Mississippi *can* afford to kick away $120,000 on lobbying and propaganda against a single piece of federal legislation within a single six month period?

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
Bob Ingram column,
March 1, 1964

. . . It was once reported here that the expenses incurred by the National Guard crew which flies the C-47 on the Wallace tours was paid by the federal government. No state official bothered to correct me, they apparently preferred that I remain ignorantly incorrect. Just discovered is the fact that the expenses of the Guardsmen are paid by you, the taxpayers of Alabama. An allocation was approved a couple of days back for $1,356.48 from the General Fund for the active duty pay earned by the three-member crew on the midwest tour, plus some expenses.

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
March 30, 1964

. . . Wallace [Alabama Governor George C. Wallace] blew into Washington during the week to meet with some Maryland supporters. He is running in the Maryland Democratic Primary.

He arrived in the Alabama plane surrounded by no less than eight aides. Among his outriders were three bodyguards, two press assistants, and assorted other advisers—all on the Alabama state payroll.

KENTUCKY *LABOR NEWS*
May 2, 1964

. . . The political ad [in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*] was signed by one BILL JONES as secretary of Wallace's Indiana committee. Jones, it turns out, is neither a Hoosier nor a union member. An Alabama state employee, Jones is simply the governor's press secretary! About 18 other state employees complete the pack traveling at Wallace's heels. A $250,000 state-owned plane, with a state-paid pilot and co-pilot, carries this happy crowd from soap box to whistle stop in Indiana.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 6, 1964

The State Sovereignty Commission adopted as its first objective Thursday a massive campaign aimed at defeat of the civil rights bill pending in Congress.

As one gesture, the Commission agreed to pick up the check, not to exceed $1,000, for airplane gasoline for the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The Jaycees, who have distributed thousands of copies of the civil

rights bill in Alabama and other states, also have arranged for the use of an airplane, the Commission was told, for conferences in other parts of the country to spread opposition to the bill.

from tabulation by William C. Havard, Chairman Department of Government Louisiana State University

The Louisiana Legislature held five "Extraordinary Sessions" during 1960 and 1961 to deal with legislation designed to maintain segregation. Appropriations for these extra sessions amounted to $934,000.

THE ATLANTA *INQUIRER*
Eliza Paschall column, March 7, 1964

. . . One cost that is seldom counted is the time which trained responsible leaders must take from their professional duties to "work on desegregation." Every time the Steering Committee of the Summit Leadership Conference meets there are businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors who are not doing what businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors are supposed to be doing. The same is true of the Atlanta Coordinating Committee.

If these same people were all free to work on the problems that come with twentieth century growth, instead of working on the problem of making the color of your skin no more important than the color of your hair, we might at least catch up with, even get one step ahead of automation, expressways, art centers, and school curricula.

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.) March 4, 1964

City Council yesterday voted five to one to borrow $40,000 for the construction of a Negro community center on Hernando Street and $10,000 for remodeling of the present community center on Robertshaw.

He [Park Commissioner] said the Negro facility is needed since there is at present nowhere for Negroes to attend Park Commission activities.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 14, 1963

Emergency expenses resulting from the racial demonstrations of the last several weeks will cause a curtailment of some county services, the County Commission [Jefferson County, Alabama] said Monday.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
September 15, 1963

. . . The extra costs, including overtime pay for police and other personnel used during the demonstrations last spring totaled $45-46,000, money that might have gone into additional city equipment or services, Boutwell [Mayor Albert Boutwell of Birmingham] said.

THE REPORTER
February 27, 1964

Greenville, South Carolina, is having its problems. Faced with a suit to integrate its municipal swimming pool, the city council voted last October to convert it into a "marineland." "Integrated pools operate at a loss," Alderman W. I. Bouton . . . explained in proposing the switch. The economy-minded council apparently had no alternative but to import six sea lions from California. Since then, however, it's been just one thing after another. . . . The trouble began as soon as the sea lions were flown in by jet from Santa Barbara. They not only needed a series of vitamin and

antibiotic inoculations on arrival but fifty pounds of fish a day as well.

Yet the "animal groceries" budget had already been exceeded by $378 at that point and the $1,500 ration allowance that was provided "obviously left no margin," one alderman found, "for feeding camels and yaks." (There was no question that camels and yaks deserved treatment equal to sea lions) . . . it was discovered that the pool had sprung a leak. . . . The costs, however, turned out to be manageable, and for several days the local papers carried dolorous pictures of the woebegone seals dryly sitting it out on the shower-room benches while the pool was drained and the repairs were made. In mid-January a $1,200 concrete island with five spiral decks was lowered into the pool, and there is talk of a stainless-steel slide to come. But this gives no assurance yet that the sea lions will learn to be as happy as kids, black or white, in a swimming pool. At the end of January, one sea lion was found dead of unknown causes at the side of the pool, and another died at the veterinarian's.

BATON ROUGE *STATE TIMES*
June 1, 1964

The Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation will continue its work for another four years. . . .

A budget of $12,000 has been set aside for the committee.

Sen. Gravolet [E. W. Gravolet of Pointe-A-La-Hache], who has served as vice chairman of the committee . . . said the committee had been in service 10 years and usually had an appropriation of about $7,000 to $12,000 annually.

It had no attorneys, he said, and members had drafted major segregation legislation through the years.

The Price We Pay...

In Elections

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
reprinting editorial from
Brewton (Ala.) *Standard*
January 25, 1964

. . . With the ratification of the anti-poll tax amendment by South Dakota the poll tax, as pertains to federal elections in this state, has just about two years to go before it becomes obsolete. Between now and that time, we hope that our legislators in Montgomery will eliminate the poll tax from state law. Otherwise, it will cost the state a tremendous amount of money for holding separate elections when federal and state candidates are placed on the same ballot.

The Price We Pay...

In Employment

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Jim Montgomery column
August 29, 1963

Racial discrimination in employment was singled out Wednesday as one of a complex set of forces which, together, are costing the American people more than $30 billion a year in personal income, most of it in the Southeast.

Ironically, it was not in Washington or at a civil rights forum that this estimate of economic loss was cited. . . .

An Atlanta economist presented the calculation in a rather more academic setting in Minneapolis. . . .

Dr. Joseph Airov, associate professor of economics at Emory University, was referring to the regional differences in per capita income in which the Southeast ranks hindmost among the eight major regions of the United States.

Statement of Under Secretary of Labor John F. Henning, before Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower
July 24, 1963

The unemployment rate for nonwhites as a whole is today over twice as high as for whites—in May, 10.3 per cent compared with 5.0 per cent. Among married men with family responsibilities, the difference is even wider, 8 per cent compared with 3 per cent.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 10, 1963

New Orleans—Several witnesses at a civil rights hearing here testified today that industry in the South was penalizing itself when it discriminated against Negroes.

Because of this discrimination, they said, the brighter and better-educated young Negroes migrate to the North and never return. This often leaves unfilled jobs for which they could qualify and discourages establishment of new industry for lack of skilled workers, they added.

About 750 of the brighter Negro boys of New Orleans go to school at St. Augustine's. Father Messina [Rev. Joseph Messina, counselor at the school] said 60 per cent of the school's graduates go North to complete their education and only 10 per cent of them return. These are largely in the educational field. . . .

Mr. Kerns [J. Harvey Kerns, executive director of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans] charged that although the Southern Bell Telephone Company had been advertising in New Orleans for months for telephone operators and other specialized workers, it had turned down all Negro applicants. . . .

Representatives of the Boeing Company and of Kaiser Aluminum, both of which have national policies of equal opportunity in employment, said they had found difficulty finding skilled Negro help here.

NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE
Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely
Rinehart & Company, Inc.
1957, p. 124, quoting Nashville *Tennessean* of April, 1957

One of the most shocking and challenging problems to the state of Tennessee is the continuing and costly loss of its young people.

In a survey conducted by a reporter for this newspaper, it was found that the state is losing an estimated 20,000 young persons a year, wasting an estimated $200 million invested in them because of inability to provide jobs for them.

NEW ORLEANS *STATES-ITEM*
April 6, 1964

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze said in New Orleans today Louisiana's refusal to accept federal manpower retraining aid may have caused 25 per cent of the jobs in the Michoud rocket plant to go to out-of-staters.

Celebrezze, in the city to address a labor convention, declared that all other states are receiving the aid.

The HEW secretary said he understood that 50 per cent of the 10,000 employees at the Saturn rocket plant were imported from other states and he guessed that half of these could have been drawn from local surplus labor if the proper training was available.

Federal officials told Louisiana last year the state was losing $1,088,000 by refusal to sign an agreement for funds under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act.

Celebrezze, at a press conference in the Royal Orleans Hotel, said Louisiana never has given a reason for its failure to participate, but he said he had a hunch it had to do with integration.

The funds, under the act, would not be available to segregated facilities.

A Study of the Economic Loss to New Orleans Caused by Migration of College-Educated Negroes, by T. Earl Sullenger, Ph.D.

. . . In brief, we conclude that the City of New Orleans is sustaining an annual economic loss of over 4-8 Million Dollars as the result of the migration of its college-educated Negroes.

WASHINGTON *POST*
June 5, 1963

Richmond (AP)—The Federal Government has under consideration a vocational education program for school-less Prince Edward [Virginia] County Negro children and is awaiting results of a survey to determine what other programs might be needed. . . .

The survey, being conducted by a Michigan State University research team under a $75,000 Federal grant, will provide basic information . . . to determine what other educational programs might be needed in the County.

Prince Edward closed its public schools in 1959 to avoid court-ordered desegregation. Since then white children have attended private, segregated schools. About 500 of the County's 1,600 Negro school-age children have been attending classes outside the County but the remainder have had no formal education in the past four school years.

WASHINGTON *POST*
Marquis Childs column,
May 28, 1963

[Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel] . . . wanted the committee [the House Subcommittee on Education] to approve $5 million for the next fiscal year for grants to the states to carry out, under state

approval, programs in reading and writing for those who cannot read or write English or have less than an eighth grade education. . . .

Of the white population 25 years and older 6.7 per cent have completed less than five years of school. The percentage for the Negro population is 23.5. This is one measure of separate but unequal as it has prevailed in many parts of the country.

In Mississippi and Georgia nearly 40 per cent of the Negro population has had less than five years of school. For Texas, the figure is 23.6. In Missouri, it is 17.2. Illinois is 13.8 and New York 11.8.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
February 20, 1964
(Reprinting an article which appeared in the Milwaukee *JOURNAL*

In Georgia the median income to support each individual white person is $2,470, each Negro $927. White unemployment is 3.7 per cent, Negro 6 per cent. Weltner [Representative Charles L. Weltner, D. Ga.] estimated that if even the employed Negroes in Georgia earned at the white median rate they would add a half billion dollars a year to the state economy—instead of loading it with relief costs.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

Such an atmosphere is a serious problem for companies that need to hire executives and highly trained workers. Rust Engineering Co., for example, employs some 400 people, mostly graduate engineers, in Birmingham. George M. Rust, executive vice-president, says flatly that his company can't attract the trained engineers it needs. He pins the blame directly on the racial troubles.

"Periodically we run help-wanted ads in newspapers around the country," Rust explains. "We generally get 10 to 15 responses to each ad. About the time of the demonstrations last May we ran 10 ads from which we got just two answers." He goes on: "One highly skilled man we needed badly put us off because he wanted to see how the racial situation developed. Finally he decided not to come."

from a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination" presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, September 1962, by the Council of Economic Advisers

. . . The elimination of discrimination [in employment] would have an impact on the distribution of income among whites. Wage and salary incomes of whites in the lower paid occupations (with higher proportions of non-whites) would tend to rise while the opposite would be true in the higher income occupations. Thus the low income white population would also benefit and a more equal income distribution among whites would result.

The Price We Pay...

In Legal Costs

WASHINGTON *POST*
Editorial, May 6, 1964

". . . no State can directly dictate or casually promote a distinction in the treatment of persons solely on the basis of their color." The principle is now so explicit a fixture of constitutional law that it must astonish laymen to see Virginia's Attorney General waste the taxpayers' money contesting the point. Judge Bryan enunciated it again in Alexandria, ordering the state to discontinue its practice of segregating the voting and property tax records by citizens' race.

ATLANTA *DAILY WORLD*
September 21, 1963

Savannah, Ga. (UPI)—About 250 Negroes awaiting trial in connection with recent sit-in demonstrations here asked for separate jury trials Wednesday. . . .

Solicitor General Andrew J. Ryan, Jr., estimated that, if the Negroes went ahead with their plan, it would take a year and a half to complete the 250 trials. According to Georgia law, any person accused of either a misdemeanor or a felony has the right to demand a jury trial.

Section 59-120
GEORGIA CODE

. . . The first grand jury impaneled at the fall term of the superior courts of the several counties shall fix the compensation of jurors and court bailiffs for the next succeeding year, such compensations not to exceed $3 per diem. . . .

390 weekdays (in 18 months) X $12 per day ($1 per juror per day minimum) = $4,680

CHARLOTTE *OBSERVER*
August 24, 1963

Greensboro (AP)—Solicitor L. Herbin, Jr., said Friday that if all 183 defendants charged with obstructing a street here without a permit June 6 pleaded not guilty he would plan a single trial for them in Superior Court Monday.

A single trial, he estimated would save Guilford County and the state more than $25,000. He based the figure on an estimated cost of $30 a minute for court operation. . . .

"If we were to try these cases individually, it would take about half a year. . . ."

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 15, 1964

Perry [Ga.]—A fight between white persons and Negroes at a drinking fountain outside the Superior Courtroom in the Houston County courthouse Thursday brought about a mistrial in a case. . . .

Investigators and witnesses said the fight developed when a Negro drank from the white drinking fountain. . . .

As soon as order was restored, Judge Howell Bell declared a mistrial and released the jury.

NORFOLK *JOURNAL AND GUIDE*
November 30, 1963

Thus the long legal battle against school integration, the costs of which haven't yet been fully determined, and the continuing Prince Edward County court battle, all costly to the State, are draining off tax dollars which could and should be used for education and public works construction.

RICHMOND *NEWS LEADER*
October 29, 1963

The Powhatan county school board has been ordered [by Federal District Judge John D. Butzner, Jr.] to pay $2,100 in fees to the two Negro attorneys who successfully opposed the county's segregated school policy.

A Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963

The Little Rock School District, for example, had desegregation litigation from 1956 through 1962 resulting in at least 23 reported decisions by courts of record. During that period, legal fees paid by the district totaled $95,796.37, of which an estimated 75 percent is attributable to the legal position of the school board in opposition to desegregation.

Remarks of Senator Paul H. Douglas in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*
April 3, 1964, p. 6613

A single trial in a district court—with normal attendant motions, discovery procedures, and so forth—with one appeal to the circuit court and an application for certiorari to the Supreme Court, costs from $15,000 to $18,000. I refer to a letter from Gordon Tiffany, staff director, Commission on Civil Rights, dated January 29, 1960 and published at 106 *Congressional Record* 3663-3364.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
February 9, 1964

. . . During the past several years, the city of Jackson has been subjected to various court actions, in addition to pursuing a steady course of prosecuting racial demonstrators and others charged with public breach of city ordinances.

This activity has grown to such proportions that it overshadows most of the city's ordinary run of business, has caused the expenditure of a formidable [amount] of money.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
April 7, 1964

Washington (AP)—The Supreme Court rejected today a request by L. B. Sullivan, a city commissioner of Montgomery, Ala., for apportionment of costs in the case in which the court overturned a $500,000 libel judgment he won against the New York Times. . . .

Mr. Sullivan, in a motion filed with the Supreme Court, asked for "apportionment of printing costs and fees," that is, a division of the costs between him and the Times.

The Court routinely assesses such amounts against the loser, and a brief court order today rejected Mr. Sullivan's motion without comment.

The Office of the Supreme Court estimated the costs at about $13,000.

NEW YORK TIMES
April 23, 1964

(UPI)—A Federal judge ordered all public facilities in Gadsden, Ala., permanently desegregated today . . .

District Judge H. H. Grooms issued the ruling on an omnibus integration suit filed by Gadsden Negroes . . .

The defendants also were ordered to pay all court costs.

The Price We Pay...

In Education

In Loss of and Inability to Attract Faculty, Students, and Research

WALL STREET JOURNAL
September 19, 1963

Birmingham—. . . "The racial situation has kept some people from joining our faculty, even though we offered them a greater opportunity than anyone else," says Dr. S. Richardson Hill, dean of the University of Alabama Medical Center here. "One doctor had already decided this was the best place for him. But after he talked it over with his family he decided against it." . . .

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
August 16, 1963

Oxford (AP)—The University of Mississippi—which ends its most difficult year Sunday with graduation of James H. Meredith—is losing more than 20 per cent of its faculty. . . .

An Associated Press survey shows that 54 faculty members listed in the 1962-63 university catalog will not return for the fall term which begins next month. . . .

He [university chancellor Dr. J. D. Williams] said the normal turnover among his teachers in past years has been 10 per cent. . . .

Before Meredith enrolled . . . most of the faculty turnover had been instructors and assistant professors—the two lowest grades.

But now there are 11 faculty members with rank of full professor and 17 associate professors leaving. . . .

Among those are two department chairmen, Dr. Samuel F. Clark of chemistry and Dr. William H. Willis of classics. . . .

Dr. Clark in an interview, said:

"My decision to leave Ole Miss, an institution for which I have felt and still feel a deep affection, stemmed from the serious loss of academic freedom to faculty and students of the university and to the breakdown of moral and professional responsibility on the part of the university's administrative officers."

Both Dr. Clark and Dr. Willis have been department heads since 1947. . . .

The entire three-man philosophy department is leaving. Seven of the 12 full-time chemistry teachers will not return.

The art department loses three of its five professors; classics two of four; physics three of seven; mathematics four of 10.

from testimony by Undersecretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. July 23, 1963

. . . In Little Rock, although racial unrest was sparked by school desegregation, protests over segregated public accommodations further inflamed the environment. Under these conditions, recruitment of technical people became extremely difficult. According to the provost for medical affairs of the University of Arkansas . . . "the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community."

BUSINESS WEEK February 29, 1964

. . . Said Dr. Willis Tate, president of Southern Methodist University in Dallas: "One of the first questions asked by a talented professor who is invited to teach at a Southern University is: 'Is your university fully integrated?' This question today has become very important to an educator, more so than it has ever been. It has become part of his moral code, the fiber of his integrity."

NEW YORK *TIMES* June 9, 1963

Oxford, Miss.—Although two Negro students were registered quietly at the University of Mississippi this week, the aftermath of last fall's rioting still plagues the school.

The number of new students who applied by June 1 for the fall term totals 884, 30 per cent below last year's total of 1,264, according to the figures compiled by the registrar's office.

The biggest decrease has been in the number of out-of-state students.

NASHVILLE *TENNESSEAN* September 27, 1963

Oxford, Miss. (AP)—Four dormitories at the university of Mississippi are being closed for lack of students, university authorities announced yesterday.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* Ralph McGill column, August 27, 1963

The crisis is, Dr. Willard [Dr. Willam R. Willard, vice president of the Medical Center, University of Kentucky] finds, clearly delineated. There is a sharp decline in the number and quality of applicants to medical schools. Dr. Willard names no institutions. But the schools described in Group One, where research and experiments are conducted, are, the report says, "not handicapped by sponsorship which restricts admission of students by race, creed or color as in some Group Two schools." The marginal schools, and those most burdened, are, therefore, in the South. . . .

In 1960-61 the ten schools in Group One averaged $11.3 million [in expenditures] per school. Group Two averaged $1.7 million. Federal grants for research naturally—and properly—went largely to the Group One institutions.

BUSINESS WEEK February 29, 1964

A Houston jury in a state civil court last week O.K.'d a move by the trustees of Rice University to break away from two stipulations of the institution's founder [not to charge tuition and not to admit Negroes]. . . .

In Rice's case, more than 88% of the school's $5.9 millions worth of

research contracts are government supported. . . . Whether or not Congress adopts a strong civil rights law, it is clear that federal agencies are under pressure to put their money, where possible, in integrated colleges. . . .

In the light of such statistics, Rice trustees could see no future for their university, regardless of its recognized scientific stature in Texas, unless a court would allow them to bypass the two conditions of the University's charter. . . .

Particularly, they [the trustees] said, continued exclusion of Negroes would cripple Rice's ability to attract a top-grade faculty as well as carry forward its research effort.

The Price We Pay...

In Capital Investment

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
February 27, 1964

Millsaps College reaffirmed its segregation policy in a statement in the current edition of the Methodist Advocate. . . .

"This is evidenced by the fact that the board has determined privately to finance the building of badly needed additional dormitory space on the campus," said the statement, "rather than by the acceptance of a one-million dollar loan from the housing and home finance agency."

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 18, 1963

Annapolis (AP)—Gov. Tawes said today Cambridge must settle its racial problems if it is to have any chance as a site for a proposed Eastern Shore branch of the University of Maryland.

"With the continuance of conditions that exist in Cambridge, I would have no great desire to agree to establishment of a (university) branch there," he told a news conference. "It would be unwise." . . .

He noted that the bill authorizing $100,000 for planning a university branch or branches does not become effective until next June.

BATON ROUGE *STATE TIMES*
June 12, 1963

Jackson, Miss. (AP)—The State Building Commission is studying a recommendation by the State College Board that $3 million in state bonds be issued to finance dormitory construction at six institutions of higher learning.

The recommendation made by the board falls under a new program designed to circumvent racial discrimination rulings imposed by federal agencies.

In the past the state has borrowed federal money to finance such construction.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
June 9, 1963

The university's [of Mississippi] plight has been underscored in another area. In recent years, the university has financed new dormitory building costing $8,000,000 with funds from the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency.

When President John Kennedy last November signed an Executive Order forbidding discrimination in Federally assisted housing, the Mississippi Legislature ordered an end to future agreements between the agency and the university.

University officials say they will now have to seek state bond issues for dormitory construction. Because the lending rates will not be as favorable as the Federal rate has been, an increase in room rent is expected.

ROANOKE *TIMES*
June 19, 1963

Richmond (AP)—The Virginia Public School Authority accepted Tuesday a long interest bid of 2.9346 per cent for its initial issue of $15 million in bonds to aid local school construction. . . .

Dave Ellenwood, a Moody's Investors Service representative serving as authority adviser, said the low bid was "not quite as favorable as hoped for" but still "a very fair value."

Ellenwood said recent news of racial disturbances "from the southern part of the country had tended to upset some buyers in the market for southern bonds."

NEW YORK *TIMES*
June 20, 1963

. . . Several municipal bond dealers, particularly those in the secondary market, have said that they are "not going out of our way to stock bonds issued by communities that are in the headlines."

The Price We Pay...

Through School Closing and Boycotts

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
April 14, 1963

. . . New president of the statewide organization of civic and professional leadership is Jack Reed, merchant of Tupelo who during the midst of Negro James Meredith-Ole Miss desegregation crisis said Mississippi would suffer economic catastrophe if schools were closed in the face of desegregation efforts. . . .

ATLANTA *DAILY WORLD*
February 19, 1964

The House Tuesday authorized Laurens County [Georgia] to sell its controversial Brewton School, near Dublin, which white residents refused to use because it was too close to a small Negro neighborhood.

Since its erection at a cost of $300,000 in 1957 the complex of buildings has been wrecked by vandals and despoiled by weather.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 4, 1963

. . . Tuskegee High School was closed last Friday on orders from the State Board of Education, of which Governor George Wallace is ex-officio chairman.

School authorities in Tuskegee said it was costing about $450 a month for each pupil to keep Tuskegee High School open; compared with a statewide average of less than $300 a pupil per year.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
February 11, 1964

Montgomery—. . . Speaking at a press conference, the governor [George C. Wallace] said his office will offer "all it can to help" enroll white Macon County students in schools of surrounding counties.

"The governor's office will spend whatever money we have to help," he said, adding that money will come from the mansion fund and other funds.

Wallace asked financial aid to the private Macon Academy at Tuskegee from the people of Alabama. The school was opened after Tuskegee High was desegregated last fall.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
February 23, 1964

(AP) . . . Some 432 pupils walked out of high school at Tuskegee, Notasulga and Shorter, refusing to attend class with Negroes. That will leave a big dent in the county's school budget because the state's money is allocated according to the student population.

. . . in September, the county [Macon] will receive something like $75,000 less than it did this school year. Actually, the cutback will be somewhat greater when the loss in transportation money is figured. . . .

The loss of the state funds won't necessarily mean the Macon County Board must close any schools. It could cut out some of the services countywide instead.

Or it could make up the difference from local sources of revenue. But in a small rural county like Macon, that's difficult.

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
Editorial, February 7, 1964

If Macon County chooses to take the private school route, it would probably be too much to hope that the county officialdom would call on Little Rock for some expert testimony on the miserable, costly experience that would lie ahead.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 5, 1964

Tuskegee (AP)—Three barns were burned on the farm of Macon County School board member Don Mercer Davis Tuesday night, and authorities said it was a case of obvious arson. . . .

The burnings follow cross burnings at the homes of three of the school board Sunday night.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 6, 1964

Tuskegee (AP)—The water filter plant at nearby Notasulga burned Wednesday night and Mayor James Rhea said it has caused an acute water shortage. He asked that all schools in the town be closed.

Among the schools to be closed is the high school where federal court has ordered six Negro students admitted.

No cause of the fire was determined, but Rhea said, "it looks suspicious."

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
April 19, 1964

Notasulga, Ala. (AP)—Fire destroyed the recently desegregated Macon County High School early Saturday and investigators said there were indications that it may have been started by an arsonist. . . .

There was no immediate estimate of the damage.*

**[*According to the* Alabama Educational Directory, *1962-63, there are 10 school plants in Macon County. According to the* Annual Report, *1962, of the Alabama Department of Education, the total assessed valuation of school warrants for Macon County properties was $12,956,890. If the Macon County High School plant alone (without consideration of interior equipment such as books and laboratory supplies) were estimated at one-tenth of the total value of the county's plants, and this would seem a low estimate since four of the ten schools are elementary schools, then its assessed valuation could be well over $1,250,000*].

The Price We Pay...

Through Tuition Grants

Several southern states have attempted through various schemes to avoid or mitigate desegregation of schools by providing grants from state funds to students for tuition at private schools. To illustrate, Virginia in 1959 legislated to provide such scholarships of up to $250 (elementary school child) and $275 (high school child) per student.

Following are some of the results of this and similar state actions in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Alabama, as well as some estimates of the costs in the four states most seriously affected.

In Virginia . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
November 13, 1963

Roanoke (AP)—Roanoke School Superintendent E. W. Rushton attacked the tuition grant program last night in some of the strongest terms yet from an educator.

The cost rise is "alarming" . . . said Rushton. . . .

He said money has been laid out for the grants year after year while

spending has been cut for teachers' salaries, school plant maintenance and operation. . . .

For every child who gets a grant, the city loses more money—an average of $100 in the State support allocated on the basis of children in average daily attendance. . . .

School board Business Manager A. F. Fisher estimated today that the total cost of the program to date thus exceeds $225,000, or about the cost of a new eight-room elementary school. . . .

Virginia taxpayers spent $2,252,995 for 9489 grants in 1962-63.

ROANOKE *TIMES*
Editorial, January 22, 1964

. . . For the biennium of 1964-66, the sum of $1,200,000 is set aside for paying the state's share of grants . . .

In South Carolina . . .

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 22, 1964

In South Carolina the legislature included a provision in this year's general appropriations bill for $250,000 that will finance private education for pupils in Charleston who are dissatisfied with integrated schools.

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
January 11, 1964

Columbia (AP)—. . . But if federal court orders on integration of schools begin ranging more widely than just in the Charleston area, $250,000 would be only a drop in the bucket.

In Louisiana . . .
the bill of . . .

PAR ANALYSIS
No. 113, October, 1963
Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc.

In the current school term, 10,136 children have been approved to receive grants that will total $3.6 million.

consists of . . .

The $360 grant paid by the state to a child attending a private school is considerably more than the average amount of state money spent on each child attending public elementary and secondary schools in fiscal 1962-63.

and is paid by . . .

In the second extra session of 1961, the legislature transferred $2.5 million from the public welfare fund to a new fund, the education expense grant fund, in order to carry out the grant-in-aid program. It further provided that $200,000 per month was to be paid into the new fund out of the first money collected from the state's sales tax. . . . The 1962 legislature then transferred $4 million out of the fund to assist in meeting the state's deficit. . . . The $200,000 sales tax dedication was continued; however, in the 1963 fiscal session of the legislature this sum was raised to $300,000 per month by Act 27.

In Alabama . . .

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 5,1964

The State Board of Education Tuesday authorized financial aid to parents of Tuskegee High School students to enable them to attend private segregated schools. . . .

State School Superintendent Auston Meadows said . . . it would be sometime before he could determine how much money would go to the parents for each child. The law specifies that the amount cannot exceed what was previously spent in providing a public education for the student.†

ANNUAL REPORT
1962 Alabama State Board of Education

	COUNTIES	
†CURRENT EXPENSES PER PUPIL IN A.D.A. (AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE)	WHITE	NEGRO
	$198.68	$177.76

The Price We Pay...

In Duplication of Resources

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 19, 1964

(AP)—For almost 20 years, Alabama has provided out-of-state aid for college students seeking instruction not available to them in this state.

Many Negroes have taken advantage of the program to get specialized instruction when they were barred from Alabama's white colleges and universities.

Under the program started in 1945, Alabama pays the difference in tuition plus transportation and up to $110 a month for living expenses.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
September 3, 1963

Fort Rucker, Ala.—When school bells ring this morning, some 1,200 white and Negro children will file into a spanking new $1,038,000 school house built on the base here by Uncle Sam this summer for the sake of integration.

Meanwhile, a few hundred yards away from the camp gates, a segregated public school, also costing $1 million and financed with Federal funds, will remain two-thirds empty. Most of its white students have been transferred to the Army school, in company with a handful of Negro military dependents that previously attended a local all-colored school. At most, it's estimated only 30 Negro pupils at Fort Rucker will be enrolled in the new integrated school on post.

Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September, 1963

The varied costs of maintaining segregated schools are large and growing larger; the heaviest burden rests on Negro children, but the drain on the monetary resources of the entire community is increasingly severe. . . .

Handicapped by lower income and a higher educational load than the

rest of the United States, Arkansas, in common with the rest of the South, has gained little in relation to national education standards. In 1961, Arkansas spent $57.48 per capita on its public schools, $3.29 below Mississippi, and last in the Nation.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
July 9, 1963

Atlanta School Board Member Mrs. Ray Mitchell has accused the city of "spending millions of dollars unnecessarily to keep schools segregated when segregation, by law, may be past history at any time." . . .

". . . Empty seats" at predominantly white schools could help further to relieve crowded conditions in Negro schools, she continued.

Mrs. Mitchell also argued unsuccessfully against a board plan to build an entirely new school to lighten the load at crowded Howard High. She said she could "not go along" with an expenditure of about $2 million on a new building when existing space in other schools is already available.

While on the Other Hand . . .

CHARLESTON (W. VA.) *GAZETTE*
April 18, 1964

. . . West Virginia has made a good beginning in school desegregation. . . .

Segregation simply costs too much—both in taxes and in the psychological damage it does primarily to Negroes, but also to whites who are forced to grow up learning to fear or hate human beings they don't even know.

Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September, 1963

The cost of interdistrict transportation of Negro children to servicing schools clearly exceeds what the cost of educating such children in desegrated resident districts would be. . . . State-wide per pupil cost averages from $149 to $225 per year. In a segregated district in western Arkansas, $4,500 is spent annually for sending 14 Negro high school students to another district, a per pupil average of $321. In one district, 15 students in both elementary and secondary schools had been sent to another district at an annual cost of $6,000, or $400 per pupil. This latter district has desegregated, and it is a source of some public pride that the savings are being put into a public school music department that the district long lacked.

WASHINGTON *POST*
November 25, 1963

. . . Applauding the School Board's decision [to close the all-Negro high school] County Board Chairman Thomas W. Richards said yesterday:

"The Board is pleased that, for the first time, all Negro senior high school children in Arlington will have an equal educational opportunity and that this will be accomplished at a great savings to the taxpayer."

LOUISVILLE *COURIER-JOURNAL*
September 22, 1963

Paris, Ky.—. . . For six months before the high school [Bourbon County] integrated in 1961, a biracial committee prepared an acceptable climate of public opinion. . . .

Not the least effective argument was the hard fact that maintaining two systems was a needless waste, costing $33,000 a year.

The Price We Pay...

In Culture, Entertainment and Sports

Art . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1962

The Museum of Modern Art has barred its circulating exhibitions of paintings, sculpture and photographs from display before segregated groups.

One fourth of the exhibitions . . . visit the South.

This rule, which applies also to rentals from the museum's extensive library of motion pictures, was instituted recently in the hope that other museums would follow suit.

Opera and Theater . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Bruce Galphin column,
May 16, 1964

A few years ago, when soprano Leontyne Price was first creating such a sensation at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, one of the Met executives was asked when Atlantans could see and hear her.

"When she can ride in an unsegregated taxi from the airport, and stay in an unsegregated hotel and eat in an unsegregated restaurant," he replied. . . . [Miss Price sang with the Metropolitan during its 1964 season in Atlanta.]

How much Americans have cheated themselves in the past by denying themselves the Leontyne Prices. How much poorer we have been for cutting off the potential contributions of so many millions of people. How sad and curious it will seem to those who read the history of our days that we even set up elaborate barriers of custom and law to deny ourselves these gifts.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1962

. . . The museum is the third major cultural organization to act against segregation. Last year the Metropolitan Opera decided that it would no longer play before segregated audiences during its spring tours and this year the Actors Equity Association ruled that its members should not be required to perform in segregated theaters.

Night Clubs . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
June 11, 1963

New York (AP)—The American Guild of Variety Artists voted in convention Monday for an immediate national boycott of entertainment centers that racially segregate either customers or employees. . . .

The resolution continued:

"AGVA will advocate the non-appearance of AGVA members in any hotels, clubs or place of entertainment where such a policy of segregation exists."

Baseball . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
October 20, 1963

. . . The Boston Red Sox and the Pittsburgh Pirates have been asked by the Florida National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to reconsider plans to locate baseball farm clubs at Ocala and Palatka. The NAACP said both cities lack integrated facilities.

Football . . .

HOUSTON *POST*
August 20, 1963

Four Negro stars of the Oakland Raiders [professional football] say they won't play Friday night in Mobile, Ala. against the New York Jets if seating in the stadium is segregated.

Prizefight . . .

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
February 25, 1964

Both Loew's State and the Saenger theaters announced Monday that they are cancelling the telecast of the Sonny Liston-Cassius Clay heavyweight fight Tuesday night.

Earlier Monday, Liston said he would not stand for piping a telecast of his title defense, in Miami Beach, into any theater that had racially segregated seating.

Playright . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 4, 1963

Irish playwright Brendan Behan has cancelled a scheduled visit here Friday for a performance of one of his plays because of a news item he said he read in New York about police mistreatment of Negro comedian Dick Gregory in Mississippi.

Frank Wittow, director of the Academy Theater here, said . . . he [Behan] refused to come South.

"We were looking forward to seeing and working with Behan," Mr. Wittow said. "Unfortunately, we are all identified with the crude actions in Mississippi. This is a case of everybody suffering."

Literary Festival . . .

MEMPHIS *COMMERCIAL APPEAL*
April 9, 1964

Many months ago, the Southern Literary Festival, an association of 27 colleges and universities from South Carolina to Texas, made contracts with Prof. Walter Allen of Vassar College, Prof. John Gassner of Yale University, and Stephen Spender, English poet, to speak for festival ses-

sions at Mississippi State College for Women at Columbus, April 23-25.

Three weeks before the festival date, all three wrote to Dr. George T. Buckley, president of the association, cancelling their contracts, all for the same reason, that Mississippi State College for Women does not admit Negroes."

State Parks . . .

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
April 23, 1964

Annual maintenance costs for Edisto Beach State Park, padlocked for eight years to avoid racial integration, constitute "a waste of money," the chairman of the State Forestry Commission said last night. . . .

Edisto Beach Park will be the only one of 26 state parks to remain closed next month. The other 25 are re-opening on a restricted racially integrated basis under terms of a new state parks act passed last week by the General Assembly. . . .

However, its mothball status is costing taxpayers $6,525 a year to pay a caretaker-superintendent and to paint and repair park cabins that will never be occupied. . . .

A state estimate is that it would require an outlay of $35,000 to get the park back into sufficiently good shape to reopen for visitors.

Auditorium[1] . . .

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
September, 1962

A proposed large bond issue failed in Atlanta, and Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., said the segregation issue was one of the reasons for the failure. A bond issue for new schools was barely defeated, but bonds for a cultural center lost by a big margin. Allen said the segregation issue had been "falsely injected" into the cultural center debate.

Music . . .

REDBOOK
"Little Rock—Five Years Later"
Gerald Walker
November, 1962

. . . When Duke Ellington was to appear there [Little Rock, Ark., city auditorium] last year, seating was announced to be on a segregated basis, whereupon the band leader cancelled his booking.

TIME
March 20, 1964

. . . Conductors George Szell, Leonard Bernstein and Erich Leinsdorf all announced that they would not appear before segregated audiences, and they were joined by such performers as Rise Stevens, Leon Fleisher, Jaime Laredo and Julius Katchen. Artur Rubenstein declared that such a stand is "a right and natural step."

Segregation remains the general rule for concert audiences in Mississippi and Alabama; elsewhere it is accomplished more discreetly. . . . Sol Hurok, with his huge stable of artists, has had a similar policy [refusal to appear before segregated audiences] for a decade. At week's end the new musical boycott of the Deep South was endorsed by Vladimir Horowitz.

Blackout in Mississippi . . .

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
January 29, 1964

Jackson (UPI)—[James] Webb, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, was to have given the principal address at a banquet honoring members of the Mississippi Legislature.

But a few hours before the event, Webb sent word he did not endorse segregation, and would not appear.

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
January 23, 1964

Television's Cartwright family of the "Bonanza" series exhibited a solid front Tuesday when Lorne Green and Michael Landon joined their co-star Dan Blocker in cancelling a scheduled appearance in Jackson because they refused to appear before a segregated audience.

BIRMINGHAM NEWS
January 26, 1964

Jackson (AP)—Jazz trumpeter Al Hirt and his band failed to play Saturday night after he was asked by an integration group not to appear at the segregated coliseum.

COMMONWEALTH
(Greenwood, Miss.)
February 20, 1964

Jackson, Miss. (AP)—Another performer has passed up an appearance here following a protest by a civil rights group.

Concert pianist Gary Graffman will not appear for a Community Concert series at the Jackson Auditorium on February 27 because of segregated arrangements.

NEW YORK TIMES
April 10, 1964

A campaign to desegregate concerts in the South received significant backing yesterday when a major concert management organization indicated that it would no longer offer its artists to perform in Jackson, Miss., at least until racial tensions there are eased. . . .

Kurt Weinhold, president of Columbia Artists Management, Inc., said . . . he had not suggested any replacement for Birgit Nilsson, the soprano, who last week called off a concert on the advice of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Price We Pay...

In Tourism and Conventions

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
September 8, 1962

New Orleans' loss of conventions is hurting business much more in the French Quarter than are District Attorney Jim Garrison's vice raids, a veteran Bourbon Street night club operator believes.

Hyp Guinle, owner of the Famous Door Lounge, said Friday that state laws requiring segregation in hotels are costing night spots the convention trade which is their lifeblood. . . .

"Seymour Weiss tells me he's had five cancellations from conventions this year because he couldn't take one or two colored delegates," said Guinle.

PROVIDENCE (R. I.) *JOURNAL*
May 24, 1963

Bluefield, W. Va. (AP)—The West Virginia Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claimed a victory yesterday when Negro hotels turned away Negroes and forced an American Legion convention out of Bluefield. . . .

The NAACP has been "working hard to get Negroes not to cooperate with the segregated housing plans of the Legion convention," he [Rev. C. Anderson Davis, president of the W. Va. NAACP] said.

The controversy began last month when the West Virginian Hotel, to be convention headquarters, said it would not accept reservations from Negro legionnaires.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1963

Detroit (UPI)—The American Federation of Teachers has turned down a suggestion that its convention in 1963 be held at Bal Harbour, Fla.

Some of the delegates expressed concern over possible racial segregation.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
May 24, 1963

Miami Beach (AP) . . . Miami Beach has been named the site of the American Legion's September 6-12 national convention, shifted from New Orleans because of racial problems.

National Commander James Powers . . . said not enough integrated lodgings could be found in New Orleans.

An estimated 50,000 persons will attend the sessions.

Tabulations by Larry Mansfield, Manager, City of Miami Convention Bureau, June, 1963

Assuming that the Miami Beach meeting draws 35,000 delegates for a four-day stay and each one spends $30.00 per day (a national average delegate's expenditure), this will amount to . . . $4,200,000.

From testimony of Undersecretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. before the Senate Committee on Commerce, July 23, 1963

The business community generally has begun to recognize that the Negro's rising disposable income represents a large and growing portion of the nation's buying power. However, this is far less true in the area of public accommodations.

The table [based on a study published several years ago by the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania] shows . . . that Negroes in both the North and South spend much less than whites of the same income class on "Automobile operations" (40 to 60 per cent). This statistic certainly suggests that Negroes are doing considerably less traveling by automobile than white people in the same income group. Since Negroes spent close to the same amount, on the average, for the purchase of automobiles as did whites on the same income level, I believe the absence of suitable facilities along our important North-South highway routes must be the discouraging factor.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
June 26, 1963

Tourist travel through Birmingham to points in the South and Southwest "is off at least 25%, maybe more," says Bancroft Timmons, director of the Alabama Automobile Association. "We're getting requests for routings around Birmingham every day. People coming from New York to the Southwest are driving 100 miles out of their way through Arkansas to miss Alabama."

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
September 16, 1963

Toronto (AP)—Canadians should boycott the southern United States as a holiday area in protest of racial segregation, Alan Borovoy, executive secretary of the Ontario Labor Committee for Human Rights, said Sunday.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 27, 1964

Pittsburgh—The Methodist Church's General Conference was told Sunday that the body would meet in Dallas, Tex., in 1968. Atlanta had been a major contender for the meeting until it was eliminated several weeks ago because of segregation in several restaurants and lunch counters as well as inadequate auditorium facilities. . . .

Had Atlanta been selected, the conference would have brought some 14,000 persons to the city for a two-week period.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
June 14, 1964

St. Augustine—. . . The city of 15,000 persons derives 80 per cent of its income from tourists. The old Spanish fort, a national monument, is a good indicator of the tourist trade. The National Park Service said the number of visitors to the fort declined almost 45 per cent during the first 10 days of June, compared to the same period last year.

While on the Other Hand . . .

WALL STREET JOURNAL
July 15, 1963

. . . In Dallas, integration of hotels and restaurants has "opened up an entirely new area of convention prospects," according to Ray Bennison, convention manager of the Chamber of Commerce. "This year we've probably added $8 million to $10 million of future bookings because we're integrated," Mr. Bennison says.

DALLAS MORNING NEWS
February 12, 1964

Hank Brown, state president of Texas AFL-CIO told the state executive board Tuesday that unions recently caused the integration of the last segregated hotel in Brownsville.

Brown said that while examining Brownsville as a possible site for the union's convention August 10-21, he discovered that a hotel near the convention center was segregated.

When civic leaders faced the prospect of losing $250,000 in convention trade, he said, "the situation was straightened out." Executive board members voted Monday to hold the convention in Brownsville.

WINSTON-SALEM (N. C.) JOURNAL, Editorial
February 24, 1964

. . . A week or so ago, the National Lutheran Council decided to meet in Charlotte after the New York *Times* reported that eight hotels and motels in that city had been desegregated. Earlier, the council members had discounted Charlotte as a meeting site. The executive director of the council said that "we would prefer (as a matter of principle) not to be in a place where the hotel space was segregated." Thus Charlotte gets a convention that will bring 70 people there for three days.

Last Friday, the North Carolina Association of Broadcasters said that it had cancelled plans to hold its June convention at a motor hotel in Wrightsville Beach because the management refused to provide accommodations for representatives of a member radio station owned by Negroes. Instead, the association will meet at a New Bern hotel.

There will surely be other such instances as more and more organizations desegregate their membership and as the consciences of Americans become increasingly aroused to the need for racial justice. And in time the realities of business may overcome the fears of those who still feel that discrimination pays off.

The Price We Pay...

On a National Scale

For Segregated Housing

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
July 1, 1963

Washington . . . He [Emerson P. Schmidt, chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce] noted that while there has been no absolute drop in the volume of federally-financed house construction since the anti-discrimination order was issued in November, there has been a drop in the proportion it represents of all new house construction.

THE MORTGAGE BANKER
February, 1964

Not only is the impulse to new home ownership an inevitable expression of the middle class Negro's aspirations and accomplishments, its realization would have a salutary effect on the economy at large.

Recently the Housing and Home Finance agency prepared a series of estimates of the extent to which new construction would be augmented if non-white families were permitted and inclined to participate in the housing market in a manner identical to that of the white families. The calculation for 17 metropolitan areas in the United States indicated that potential demand accumulated among non-white families with incomes between $7,000 and $10,000 a year amounted to 45,000 units, and that demand in all 212 metropolitan areas may be as high as 200,000 units.

This figure represents approximately one-eighth of the total annual volume of new construction and one-sixth of the annual number of new one-family units. Were the backlog to be made up during the remaining portion of the decade of the 1960's, the demand for new construction would be increased by 2 to 3 per cent a year. This could be a welcome addition during a period in which net household formation is expected to taper off.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Eugene Patterson column,
December 14, 1963

. . . If backward attitudes prevail, Atlanta can become a predominantly Negro city by 1975.

And since the existing housing squeeze will increasingly drive well-off Negroes as well as whites to homes outside the city limits, in order to make way for city slums to house the poorest Negroes and whites, then the city's tax base will erode and progress will wither.

Then city business will falter, and with it job opportunities, so that the poverty of the city's poor will begin to feed on itself and perpetuate the cycle of decay.

What the city faces, therefore, is not a racial debate but an economic

crisis. Poor whites, trapped in city slums, will be hurt along with poor Negroes. And the well-off whites, along with the well-off Negroes who withdraw into suburbs will find the source of their prosperity—a strong central city—evaporating.

The Price We Pay...

For Federal Troops in Racial Disorders

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
October 3, 1963

Washington (AP)—The call-up of the Alabama National Guard in that state's public school integration crisis last month has cost at least $422,000 so far, the Army said Wednesday.

This figure covers pay and allowances from September 10 to 30.

It does not include operations costs.

NASHVILLE *BANNER*
March 29, 1963

Washington—The Defense Department estimates it has spent at least $4,100,000 maintaining troops at Oxford, Miss., to protect James Meredith. . . .

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara supplied the figure to a House Appropriations subcommittee, for the period ending January 31, at the request of three Southern members. . . .

McNamara pointed out that Defense Department figures were in addition to the cost incurred by the Justice Department.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
April 5, 1963

Washington (AP)—. . . The Justice Department has told Congress its expenses to enforce court orders permitting Negro James H. Meredith to attend the University of Mississippi will run about $559,000 through June 30.

KNOXVILLE *NEWS-SENTINEL*
January 30, 1963

. . . Federal costs in the operation has exceeded $4,500,000 and it is costing an additional $4,500 a day for the 300 troops still stationed at Oxford, Miss. . . .

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
February 20, 1963

Washington (AP)—The damage that heavy military aircraft inflicted last fall on the University of Mississippi airport will be repaired by the government, two Mississippi House members said today. . . .

"The damage to the runway alone is estimated to be in excess of $200,000. Additional extensive repairs must be made to restore other airport property to its original condition."

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 11, 1963

For the fourth time in recent years†, the National Guard of a Southern state was called into Federal service during a desegregation dispute yesterday . . .

. . . The 320 Alabama Guardsmen mobilized by Governor George C.

Wallace early yesterday to bar Negro children from entering school in three Alabama cities, withdrew on Department of the Army orders after President Kennedy federalized the entire 17,000-man Alabama Guard. They returned to their armories.

They [Guardsmen] will draw an average of $13.50 a day in Army pay while mustered into Federal service even though not actually on duty —at a cost to the U. S. Government of about $320,000 a day.

†[*Little Rock—1957; Ole Miss—1962; Tuscaloosa—1963; and Birmingham, Tuskegee and Huntsville—September, 1963*].

EW YORK *TIMES*
May 13, 1964

Washington—The Controller General of the United States has turned down a University of Mississippi claim for $104,545 in damages that followed the admission of James H. Meredith. . .

The university argued that the Federal troops were its tenants. Therefore, it said, the Army should pay the fair rental value of the property it occupied and restore the premises to their original condition.

Controller General Ames Campbell, in refusing the claim altogether, noted that the troops hardly had been invited by the university.

The Price We Pay...

In Gross National Product

tatement on the
: Costs of Racial
n Employment,"
e Joint Economic
Congress, by the
conomic Advisers
September, 1962

. . . If non-whites had the same labor force participation and employment rates as the whites and if they were distributed geographically and occupationally (and thus in terms of wage and salary income) as whites with the same educational attainments—if, in other words, non-whites were able to make the same contribution to production, given their present educational attainment, GNP could be increased by about 1.8 per cent. . . .

Furthermore, the 1.8 per cent estimate relates only to wage and salary income and does not attempt the difficult measurement of the change in the labor component of entrepreneurial income. Gains will occur in the labor productivity of the self-employed adding further to the 1.8 per cent increase in GNP.

The above considerations suggest that the gain in Gross National Product might well be as much as 2.5 per cent (about $13 billion at today's level of GNP). . . .

. . . The shift to full utilization of the present capabilities of the non-white population (and the resultant GNP increase of about 2.5 per cent) would assist significantly in meeting our economic growth objectives in the coming years. . . .

If non-whites had the same educational levels as whites, and if the

economy fully utilized their education, GNP today might be perhaps 3.2 per cent higher (inclusive of the 2.5 per cent estimate reported above). This amounts to about $17 billion at today's levels of GNP.

Speech by nator Hubert H. Humphrey (D. Minn.) in Pittsburgh March 7, 1964

. . . This [$13 to $17 billion dollars a year cited above in GNP] is more than one-fourth of the money we spend for national defense. It is three times as much as we spend on our space program.

And this loss in income, of course, does not take into account what we pay in higher crime rates, poor health, urban decay, mounting welfare costs and the countless other costs that grow out of discrimination.

When all of these are added, the cost of discrimination becomes astronomical.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* itorial, September 22, 1963

. . . Where there are many Negroes and if Negro income levels are substantially lower than whites—and they are—then the states or the region with so large a number of Negroes suffer by not having all its people able to buy goods or services matching the national level. The more Negroes can buy, the more jobs will be created.

HOUSTON *POST* February 23, 1964

American society robs itself when it refuses equal job and educational opportunities to people because of their race, creed or religion.

That's the feeling of Hobart Taylor, Jr., of Washington, D. C., the executive vice-chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

. . . Taylor prefers to approach the issue of desegregation on economic grounds.

The Gross National Product of the United States, for example, would be increased . . . if job discrimination were ended, he said. The Gross National Product now stands at $600 billion.

"Our economic system needs to be arranged so that everyone strives to his fullest," he said "If he doesn't, the country is that much poorer."

The economic evil about discrimination, he said, is that it makes many feel they cannot rise above a certain level, so they tend to give less than their best.

Taylor said one of the most harmful fallacies in the nation is that there are only a certain number of jobs available for the work force.

The truth is, he says, that as more people are given the opportunity to produce, the more wealth and jobs there are created.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* from New York *Times* Co. dispatch), July 1, 1963

Washington—The Chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce fears that "unresolved race relations issues" may hurt some kinds of businesses particularly, and business generally in certain sections of the country. . . .

Entire areas of the country where there is widespread public unrest might also see some temporary drop in business, Schmidt [Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt] indicated.

The Price We Pay...

In Foreign Relations

Letter from W. M. Chase, General Sales Manager, Chase Machinery Company ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* "Pulse of the Public" column May 20, 1963

Buffalo, N. Y.—I have just returned from a selling trip through the greater and lesser Antilles where for years we have been selling machinery and equipment to these off-shore areas in the Caribbean and the Atlantic.

Both the whites and the blacks now refuse to buy anything American from us even though, personally, I have made many friends for the past many years.

Russia, Japan, Canada and England have their salesmen in these prosperous islands and invariably they talk about how the whites treat the colored people in the United States.

Last year the U. S. Department of Commerce reported exports to these same islands amounted to $180 million but the steamship companies so far this year are noticing that shipments are few.

NEW YORK *HERALD TRIBUNE* June 20, 1963

Washington—Twenty-two ambassadors from African nations got together here yesterday to tell the world what it already knew—that Africa thinks even less of Senator Allen J. Ellender than he thinks of it.

A Louisiana Democrat and ardent segregationist, Senator Ellender likes to go around telling anybody who will listen that Negroes are incapable of self-government. He said it again on television Sunday.

The statement brought the usual reaction. On Monday, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, speaking for an Administration that is up to its neck in racial problems, said the Senator did not speak for the government or for a majority of Americans.

The Africans had heard this before, and were not impressed. They gathered in the Liberian Embassy and issued a communique that said, in part:

"The language used by the Senator was needlessly offensive to our countries with which the United States government has friendly relations . . .

"It is difficult to ignore Sen. Ellender's remarks or to dismiss them as the fully privileged announcement of a private citizen in view of his position as a senior member of Congress and of the Senate Appropriations Committee . . .

"It is a grave disservice to the cause of world peace and understanding for a person occupying a prominent place in the public life of a great nation to provoke a return of the archaic debates on whether ethnic differences can be held to justly a claim of superiority by one race over another. That theory has been proved baseless and its revival is likely to be a source of incalculable mischief."

Last December, while on a taxpayer-financed junket to Africa, Senator Ellender also said Negroes were unable to rule themselves. The remarks received wide publicity all over the continent and caused the State Department considerable embarrassment.

One result was that four countries on the Senator's itinerary refused permission for him to visit.

In March, Senator Ellender held a press conference here in which he said he had no apologies for his views. He called Africans "thinskinned" and appeared still nettled that he had been refused travel rights in four of the nations. He added.

"The Negro in Africa is no different from the Negro in America. The minute you say whites are a little ahead of the Negro it's like shaking a red handkerchief before a fighting bull."

The official policy of the United States, of course, has been to support independence for new African states. It is aiding these countries to the tune of $500 million a year.

WASHINGTON POST
August 26, 1963

When Negro and white demonstrators for equal rights converge on Washington this week, an American dilemma will be unveiled in dramatic terms. The vast majority of white Americans (78 per cent) feel that unsolved racial problems here at home cannot be defended in the court of world opinion.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
Ralph McGill column,
May 23, 1963

Air mail brought cuttings from newspapers in the new African countries showing treatment of the Birmingham riots and bombings within four days after the first brutalities. These mailings—to our State Department, to members of many delegations in the United Nations, and to individuals—have continued. They include photographs.

The result of the madness at Birmingham, and the following statements by Governor Wallace, Bull Conner, and others in political leadership in Alabama and Mississippi, have quite literally paralyzed the foreign relations of this country's representatives in Africa and seriously damaged them elsewhere. . . .

One paper mocks us asking if there is any real difference between the late Adolf Hitler's racist attitudes and those of America's extremists? Again, we are vulnerable.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
May 28, 1963

Washington (UPI)—Secretary of State Dean Rusk Monday called on Americans to solve racial problems which he said are causing "deep injury" to U. S. foreign policy abroad.

Rusk said that because of remaining U. S. racial barriers, U. S. diplomats must conduct American foreign policy like someone running in a foot race "with one of our legs in a cast." . . .

Rusk said the United States "is now confronted with one of the gravest issues that we have had since 1865 . . . and this issue deeply affects the conduct of our foreign relations."

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
Ralph McGill column,
June 9, 1963

A Baptist missionary in Nigeria mailed in three cuttings from papers in that country. . . . One was an editorial from "The Times" of Lagos, perhaps the most influential publication in that country.

At the bottom of this cutting the missionary had written, "As a Christian this one was to me, the most tragic article of all. Why, why, don't our people at home know what they are doing to us . . .?"

From address by then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Carl T. Rowan, before the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, D. C., June 24, 1961, reprinted in *INTERRACIAL REVIEW* October, 1961

. . . Of the nearly 100 diplomatic missions now accredited to Washington, more than half have representatives of Asian or African background. So incidents of discrimination at airports and restaurants and other public places have become a matter of real concern on the part not only of Secretary of State Rusk but of normally intelligent Americans who are concerned about the kind of world in which their children are going to live.

Letter from Mrs. Betty Hakem in ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* "Pulse of the Public" column November 1, 1963

Atlanta—It happened on Oct. 27, when my husband and I along with another Hindu couple from India went to a downtown restaurant to have our lunch. As soon as we went in we heard the most welcoming words from our American hostess, "Sorry, we cannot serve you." . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
(From North American Newspaper Alliance dispatch)
July 25, 1963

Paris—Racial tensions in the United States are beginning to produce international repercussions of an unprecedented kind, especially in Western Europe.

As seen from here, the United States for the first time since World War II faces an internal crisis sufficiently serious to deflect its energies from its international responsibilities. . . .

. . . They [Europeans] do not discount the possibilities of the domestic crisis having a sharply debilitating effect on U. S. foreign policy. The comparison increasingly made here is with the Soviet Union's running agricultural crisis and the restrictive influence it undoubtedly has exerted over the years on Russian initiative abroad.

WASHINGTON *POST*
May 25, 1963

Paris—France's new television program, "Seven Days of the World," opened tonight with a 10-minute sequence on the racial conflict in Birmingham, Alabama, which was a model of expert impartial reporting.

If the South...

. . . Per capita incomes in the South did increase from 47 to 64 percent of the non-South's during 1929-48 and have fluctuated at around 68 percent in more recent years. If there is any ground for discouragement, it lies in the fact that the South's per capita income made relatively little further gain on the rest of the nation during 1948-54 and that more recently the intensification of race conflict has raised a serious threat to still further regional economic progress. . . .

If the South could at last take such a fresh, honest, and hard-headed look at the race problem, the gains which would accrue to the region would extend far beyond matters of race. For race has so shackled the Southern mind that it has been incapable of accepting social responsibility for the general welfare or of organizing common efforts for common benefit in other important directions as well.

William H. Nicholls, *Southern Tradition & Regional Progress,* Chapel Hill, 1960

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